1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[The Island and Seafaring Greeks]

184 members of their families, who also have a sense of being a part of the [186] wide world.

[463] The true fisherman or merchant seaman looks down upon agricultural pursuits, although many of his fellow islanders living a few miles inland are farmers like their compatriots on the mainland. But even the sons of these [702] island farmers are directed into the navy by law, with the result that the navy fills its requirements from the best of them and leaves the unused balance for the army or air force.

184 An island, by its very nature, is for its inhabitants a comprehensible uni-
829 verse. Its people supposedly become much alike, giving rise to the belief of
186 Athenians that the people from a certain island make loyal and dependable servants, that the people from another island are petty thieves and deceitful, and those from another island are hard workers. One island, according to Athenians, seemed to be inhabited entirely by delightful "screwballs," because dozens of jokes were supposed to have originated there. The impression of the alikeness of all people on an island is fostered by the fact that islanders away from home tend to stand together with their fellow islanders against all comers.[12] For instance, one of our Greek neighbors, obliged to tell the drunken husband of her maid never to come in her yard again, felt it necessary also to discharge the laundress, "because she comes from the same island as that terrible man and would take his side even though she knew he was in the wrong." The Greek housewife also explained that people from that island were reputed to be "violent and wild" and she was taking no chances, even though the laundress hardly knew the offending man. No Greek servant or neighbor questioned this action as anything but logical and necessary.

184 Island villages, as later discussion will show, differ architecturally from
511 and are in general much cleaner than the other villages of Greece. While this cleanliness gives the impression of a higher level of living, actually on many of the islands people are close to the poverty line much of the time because of inadequate local resources and the need to buy elsewhere, with what little money they have, those products not available at home. A shipwreck can bring the death of the family head or, if not such tragedy, at least economic ruin.

184 Despite the fact that each island has its own unique flavor and stands out
[829] in popular opinion as a well-defined little social world, there is a way of life common to all of the islands. The beliefs about the sea, the diet, the way ships' crews are formed, the responsibility which the ship captain's wife feels for the families of the crew while the men are at sea, and the varying political alignments would, along with other lesser features, set off the seafarer from his fellow countrymen in degree if not as a distinct type.

123 To talk at dusk with the fishing-boat crews as they get ready for their
184 long night's work or as they untangle and dry their nets along the beach in

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

therefore the guiding hand in local affairs. But in Greece I found no such use of the secretary's role. He generally considered himself a servant of both the state and the local people. In this Attica village the secretary said: "I do all the difficult work. I am kept so busy that I even work at night. Recruiting for the army, for instance, is done through me. I was awakened at five this morning by a man who wanted a certificate. I am also head of post and telegraph here. This is an unusual job for a secretary but the local government couldn't afford such an official and asked me to take on the job. I reckon I must work eighty hours some weeks." But he seemed to be thriving on his job.

When I inquired more carefully into what the council does, I learned that, in addition to collecting the taxes, it has the problem of determining what families are poor enough to qualify for welfare assistance. The president and two other citizens comprise a committee on social welfare and classify families according to need. The two citizens had been selected by the Ministry of Welfare from a list of nine local people nominated by the president, and they serve two years. The poor people are officially listed according to categories A, B, and C, which are based on family income and size of family. The poorest (A category) will get free medical care, free hospitalization, free maternity service, and free drugs at the expense of the Ministry of Welfare. Those in category B are entitled to the same advantages, but have lower priority in the event sufficient facilities are not available to all. Those in C category must pay for their drugs, but at reduced prices, with the price difference being made up by the Ministry of Welfare. Of the 560 families in this village, one half were in one of the above categories. Since everybody in a village knows everyone else's business, there is much discussion of the fairness of the list. A person in need comes personally to ask for help, but he may be removed from the list at the end of three months when the names must be reviewed.

Around Volos, in the villages on Mount Pelion, I found emergency welfare needs handled on a much less bureaucratic basis. The commandant of gendarmerie for the Volos area learned in March 1953 that many families in the villages on the eastern part of Pelion lacked food. Unlike those in the Attica village, these people had made no complaints. They ordinarily live on returns from olives, apples, chestnuts, and some potatoes, but storms had destroyed their chestnut and apple crop to the extent that they had received little income the previous autumn. By March, they were without funds to buy bread. Part of their poverty could also be traced to the number of times their villages had been pillaged by the guerrilla bands which had earlier operated in that area. Their clothes were a pattern of patches. They kept little livestock because pastures were lacking and because any lambs produced did not mature early enough to be sold at Easter.

The commandant, in view of these circumstances, asked help from the

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

000

own proprietors even under Ottoman rule. Also see D. Loukopoulos, *Poimenika tes Roumeles* (Pastoral Life in Roumele) (Athens, 1930).

16. Some of the references to particular villages are taken from the village studies of the Near East Foundation, the Mutual Security Administration, and the Greek Ministry of Agriculture (mimeographed, 1951, 1952).

An account of some shepherd festivals is found in an article by K. Marines, "Vlahopanegyria," *Nea Estia*, XI (1932), 586–590. Although this work deals only with the mainland of Greece, some readers interested in the islands may wish to consult the following representative studies of sheepraising there: For Chios: Philip P. Argenti and H. J. Rose, *The Folk-Lore of Chios*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Eng., 1949); G. Madias, "Oi Poimenes en Kardamylois" (Life of the Shepherds in Kardamyla-Chios), *Laographia*, VI, 225–226. For the Dodecanese: K. Doxiades and others, "Dodekanesos: Genike perigraphe" (The Dodecanese: General Description), *Ministry of Reconstruction Series*, no. 21 (Athens, 1947), 109–117; An. G. Vrontes, "E melissokomia kai to mandradorema ste Rodo" (Beekeeping and Sheepraising in Rhodes), *Laographia*, XII, 209–228. For Karpathos: M. G. Michailides-Nouaros, *Laographika symmikta Karpathou* (Folklore Miscellany for Karpathos), (Athens, vol. I, 1932; vol. II, 1934). For Lesbos: D. Ch. Eleftheriades, "Ktenotrophia" (Livestock Industry), *Lesviakon Emerologion* (Lesbian Almanac), 1950, pp. 281–282. For Skyros: Nike Perdika, *Skyros: Entyposeis kai perigraphai, historika kai laographika semeiomata, ethe kai ethima, mnemeia tou logou tou laou* (Skyros: Impressions and Descriptions, Historical and Folklore Notes, Manners and Customs, Glossary of Popular Speech) (Athens, 2 vols., 1940 and 1943 — pp. 157–165 deal with the major occupations, including that of shepherd; also see V. Antonakes, "E Poimniovoske mas" (Our Sheepraising), *Skyros*, 1948, pp. 112–114.

[Turks]

Chapter VII. Woman's Work Is Never Done

[114] 1. In any account of family life in Greece, some mention should be made of the family system among the Turks who live in western Thrace. When visited in 1953 and 1955, their daily lives were not too much affected by the Turkish-Greek controversy over Cyprus. Like other Greek citizens, the Turkish men must perform military service according to the law, but, since they are not considered very reliable soldiers, they are permitted to pay the fixed sum which exempts them. One of the problems in the last war was the inability of the Greek officers to command non-Greek-speaking Turks.

[641] [702] [191] [796] Much of the family life of these Turks centers about the farm and strict religious observances. To visit Turkish homes during Bairam, at the end of their month of fasting, makes one feel that he is in the interior of Turkey, although Greek place names and Greek officials bring one back to reality.

[574] [609] [576] For two days at the time of Bairam the men do no work in the fields and are glad to spend leisurely hours with strangers interested in their way of life. They invite the guests to their homes which have been newly whitewashed for the holidays. The Turks remove their sandals or shoes at the bottom of the stairs leading to the main room, but non-Turkish visitors are not expected to follow this practice. There in a carpeted room the guests are seated on the few chairs, while the Turkish men squat cross-legged on the floor. A rich meal of *dolmades* (grape leaves stuffed with ground meat and rice), chunks of veal, dark bread, and a dessert of dripping sweet baklavas served with black coffee proves very filling. No women make their appearance, and men do all of the serving. Women are very much in evidence throughout the villages of western Thrace because they have many different tasks to perform, but they do manage to keep their faces partly covered by their veils when they see strangers approaching.

[262] [562] [291] [584] [595] Marriage arrangements among the Muslims we visited are under the control of the Mufti in Xanthe. Polygyny is not very common, according to the Greek officials.

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

crease in food costs, in work, and in the inconvenience of having strangers in one's house, were considered, in Vasilika, well worth the increase in daily wage from about forty drachmas in the 1950's to the 1961 wage of approximately sixty.

Even with the release from housing hired labor, the period of cotton cultivation is the most difficult of the year for the people of Vasilika. The weather is hot and often humid as well. Much of the hoeing must be done directly under the hot sun with the hoer bending from the waist to manipulate the short-handled hoes. To protect themselves from the sun and from being scratched by the plants, both the men and women keep their arms and legs covered and shade their faces. The women wear long lisle stockings, their oldest long-sleeved flannel or cotton dresses with high necks, and kerchiefs which they draw around to cover the lower half of their faces. Men and women alike are embarrassed when outsiders see them in their old, worn, earth-spattered field clothes. "See us!" they say as one walks by the fields during this season of the year, "in our rags. What can we do?"

In spite of the weariness and inevitable backaches cotton hoeing brings in its wake, the women must still continue with the ordinary housekeeping chores. Once every week or so, they get up at two or three o'clock in the morning to sift the flour and knead the dough for bread; an occasional day free from hoeing gives them time to do the accumulated family washing and ironing; and each day brings its own complement of bed-making, sweeping, cooking, and dish washing. Although the men have more frequent respites from hard physical work in May and June, both men and women obviously lose all the weight they gained during the less active winter months.

Irrigation, which begins in July, is a man's job. The cotton fields are irrigated twice or three times in the course of the summer, and a farmer and his son can ordinarily manage all the work. If not, the women of the household often help, or the farmer can hire men. But finding male farm labor is more difficult than finding women. Young men, when they reach twenty-one, serve for two years in the Armed Forces, and if a young man is not regularly needed on his father's farm, or has been educated, he is likely to have left the village for a town. Nevertheless, sons of poorer families, whether they attend gymnasium during the winter or not, are available for summer farm labor from the time they are thirteen or fourteen years old.

The task of irrigation consists of clearing shallow ditches into which the water will be channelled, and then channelling the pumped water into them. Men work barefoot and sometimes stand in water up to their knees. Occasionally they work through the night with torches for light, and one gets the impression that the men and boys enjoy such nights for the sense of adventure they give. The need to walk around in the mud and the inevitable spattering of the mud over their clothes and their faces are what the men find disagreeable about irrigation, and once again, they complain of their unsightly appearance.

In October and November, if the weather has been normal, the cotton is picked. This requires a prolonged period of work by many hands, since the plants mature at different times: some cotton is ready for picking each day for a

3:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956) 1959 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

However Vasilika is an open community in
369 still another sense. Both men and women born and raised in the village have
463 left it for other communities, and for occupations other than farming. Educa-
87 tion beyond the six years of compulsory schooling in the village is essential for
[873] any civil service or clerical job, and of course for any of the professions. The
[166] gymnasiums or high school-junior colleges are in the towns. The farmer who wants his son to have higher education must send him out of the village at the age of twelve with the hope that he will continue in the gymnasium for six years. Upon graduation, and after a series of examinations, a successful son may become a government employee in the tax office in Amphiklia, a post-office employee or a policeman in Athens, perhaps a teacher in a village school, or an employee in a bank. A village-bred boy sometimes returns to his own or a neighboring village as a physician. Nor is formal education the only way for a
[874] farm boy to change his occupation. In some families, sons are apprenticed to barbers or tailors, and may eventually set up shop for themselves. In recent
[702] years, young men have been drafted at the age of 21 for two years of service in the armed forces of Greece. The services not only give a young man experience
[554] of other parts of Greece, but may teach him a trade as well. This situation undoubtedly provides increased opportunities for social mobility, but it is too early for its possible permanent effects to be assessed.

594 Education or training beyond the village school (except for that provided
87 by the armed forces) is expensive by Greek standards. Although the tuition
[873] charge is slight, if any, at the gymnasium, a boy must be supported in the town, and if there is no relative with whom he can live, this means a cash outlay. In spite of this fact, it is by no means only the sons of the more affluent farmers who are educated. As a matter of fact, if a farmer has sufficient land resources both to provide his daughters with adequate dowries and one of his sons with a good farm, he will keep one boy on the land. But all the sons of land-poor families may be sent for further education or training regardless of the sacrifices involved.

369 Upward and outward mobility is possible for girls through the dowry sys-
554 tem and the prevailing marriage customs. Village exogamy is most usual, and a
58 woman goes to live in her husband's village. Marriage without a dowry is almost impossible in Greece, and the value of the dowry determines the future social position of a girl and, to some extent, that of her family. The larger the dowry a man can provide, the more likely it is that he will acquire a town or city son-in-law engaged in a nonfarming occupation. There are other avenues
[871] of mobility for girls. A small proportion go to the gymnasium, and then either train to become teachers, or are considered more valuable simply because they have been educated, and can get a good husband without quite so large a
[463] dowry. Another small group goes to the provincial town or to Athens to be trained as dressmakers or beauty operators, and may return to the villages to engage in these occupations.[2] Such skills are considered real assets, and may
369 again improve the girl's chance of a good marriage. It would not be unusual,
602 therefore, for a farmer of Vasilika to run the farm with the help of one of his sons, to have another son in Athens as a civil servant or a taxi-driver, to

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

As one would expect in any small community whose members are acquainted from childhood, the effectiveness of formal leadership depends very much upon the personalities of the office holders. In some villages, the president and secretary have little real importance. As a minimum, they must keep records to allow the army to draft the young men when their age group is called up, and it is their duty to muster the able-bodied villagers for a fixed number of days' labor on roads or other public works when ordered to do so by officials of the central government. This labor service is the only form of direct taxation now enforced upon peasants, and money payment may be substituted for personal service if anyone cares to do so.

Only when a village chooses to undertake local improvements requiring money or supplies from outside sources does the sphere of local government expand from this legal minimum. In such cases, the village president, perhaps assisted by some other members of the council, is expected to represent the village in all dealings with the agents of the central government from whom help is sought; and if the village contracts a corporate loan for some project, then the president becomes responsible for collecting the sums needed to repay the loan.

Generally, the villagers of Greece have a deep-seated and not altogether groundless distrust of outsiders, particularly of government representatives, whom they suspect of being more often out to fleece than to help them. Long and persistent persuasion is therefore usually required on the part of government officials to overcome this suspicion, and open the way for technical or other improvements in village life. More often than not, the initiative in bringing about the changes which have come to many villages in the past ten years came from outside the village, from the central government. Only after a start had been made, and the practical advantage of some new crop or technique had been demonstrated on a small scale, did the farmers

/26 cont./

Illegitimacy. During the 16 years of their settlement in this village no case of illegitimacy has occurred. Cases of this kind are ostracized and are looked upon as very immoral. The morals are very strict and their observance is mutual by both men and women. 848 [626 834]

Permanence of Marriage. Under the Greek Orthodox church it is hard to get any kind of divorce. No divorce has so far occurred in the village and seldom is there any chance for divorces. Since the women are pre-occupied the year around with house work, farm work and raising children there is not much time left to think /27/ about divorces. There was one case only that had an excuse that his wife could not bear any children. Since he was the only male in the family he thought the family name would disappear without any children. This was not a good excuse for a divorce so he had to live on with his wife. 586

Educational Function. The family life is the education function. Neither society or the government has much influence as the family traditions have on their children. The influence is so strong that even after marriage the son, according to the existing traditions, works for the father and carefully executes all his orders. The girls learn from their mothers embroidery work, cooking, baking, washing, weaving, spinning, and all those jobs that are expected from a grown up girl. 868 593

The different vocations which are taught in school in many countries, are here under the guidance of the mother and entirely under family supervision.

The son learns the art of manual work in the fields from his father. When very young he follows carefully his father and by the time he is 14 years old he knows more or less the routine side of farming.

The moral training of the children rests with the grandparents. They have more influence and more exper/28/ience of moulding the lives of the children. 867 603

The grandfather with his numerous heroic stories starts to influence the life and the future of the boy. His climax ends [538 702]

603
867
702•
[538]

/28 cont./
always with great courage, heroism and self sacrifice for a good cause.

It is perhaps this very thing that makes the life of a Greek young man happy when he is called to the army. His girl takes pride in him. This date of his call to the army is celebrated by the whole village with presents, drinks, and enthusiastic speeches. [527]

He is taught by his grandparent to respect the oldest and value their advice. He never speaks to the old unless he is asked to, nor sits before them but always stands up for respect. In case he gets some scolding from the old, whether justifiable or unjustifiable, he has to accept it without any answer.

867
603
888

The girl is taught to be silent and blush before the old. She is taught to dress modestly and never hang around the water fountains. She is taught the virtue of beauty in woman is to keep her lips closed. It has become an accepted custom for both grandfather and grandmother to take pride in giving the right type of training to their grandchildren.

Educational Goals. It is the ambition of every family to educate their children especially their sons. /29/ Besides getting through the sixth grade their aim is to send them to the high school and then to the University. No father wants his son to become a farmer; he wants him to be a teacher, a doctor, a lawyer or an army man. The sacrifices that the parents and relatives undergo to give an education to the young of the family is tremendous. They sell their cows, their oxen and sometimes go into heavy debt in order to educate their children.

871
594
[602]
[426]

The expression of the parents is, "Let me eat bread and onion only, for the sake of the education of my son." The urge on the part of the relatives is very great for having someone in the family educated. They all share alike the burden without expecting repayment. Fathers think their profession has no future for their sons and try by all means to send them away for training in other occupations.

[602]

Young men who carry on their school work under such hard economic conditions find it very discouraging. Some of them

871
164